United Nations S/PV.3471

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3471st Meeting
Tuesday, 29 November 1994, 6.40 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

94-87276 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 6.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1994/1348 and S/1994/1351, letters dated 26 and 28 November 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

> "The Security Council reiterates its concern over the continuing conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including in the Bihac region and in particular in and around the safe area of Bihac. It remains concerned over the blatant violation of the Bihac safe area. The Security Council remains determined fully to support efforts to negotiate a peaceful resolution of that conflict consistent with its previous resolutions and the proposals of the Contact Group.
>
> "The Security Council expresses its full support for the efforts of United Nations officials to stabilize the situation in and around the safe area of Bihac. It takes note with satisfaction of the proposal put to the parties by United Nations officials for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire in the Bihac region to be followed by a cease-fire throughout the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the interposition of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the Bihac safe area, a complete demilitarization of the safe area involving the withdrawal from it by all military forces, and opening corridors for humanitarian relief. The Council welcomes the acceptance by the Bosnian Government of this proposal and calls on the Bosnian-Serb party also to accept it.
>
> "The Security Council welcomes the impending visit of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It demands that all parties and others concerned cooperate fully with the Secretary-General's efforts to stabilize the situation in and around the safe area of Bihac and throughout the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and ensure the security of UNPROFOR as it implements its mandate."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/74.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3472

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3472nd Meeting

Wednesday, 30 November 1994, 5.15 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on security in the Rwandese refugee camps (S/1994/1308)

94-87288 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on security in the Rwandese refugee camps (S/1994/1308)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on security in the Rwandese refugee camps, document S/1994/1308.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/1305, which contains the text of a letter dated 15 November 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Zaire to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered carefully the report of the Secretary-General dated 18 November 1994 on the security in the Rwandese refugee camps (S/1994/1308), particularly those located in Zaire. It is gravely concerned at the situation described in the Secretary-General's report.

"The Security Council condemns the actions being taken by the former Rwandan leaders, and by former government forces and militias to prevent, in some cases by force, the repatriation of the refugees in the camps. It also condemns the ongoing interference by these groups and individuals in the provision of humanitarian relief, and is deeply concerned that this interference has already led to the withdrawal of some non-governmental agencies responsible for the distribution of relief supplies within the camps.

"The Security Council is alarmed at the indications that these same groups and individuals may be preparing for an armed invasion of Rwanda. It deplores the fact that food distributed by relief agencies for those in the camps is apparently being misappropriated for this purpose. The Council condemns all such actions. It warns these persons, many of whom may have been implicated in the genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law which were unleashed on Rwanda in April 1994, that their actions will only reinforce the determination of the international community to ensure that such persons are brought to justice. The Council also stresses once again the responsibilities of neighbouring countries for ensuring that their territories are not used to destabilize the situation inside Rwanda.

"The Security Council notes the statement in the Secretary-General's report of 18 November that the first step towards promoting the repatriation of refugees must be a determined effort by the international community to reduce intimidation of prospective returnees and to improve security in the Rwandese refugee camps, especially those in Zaire. The Security Council attaches equal importance to the Secretary-General's observation that any operation to achieve this would be futile without parallel efforts to promote national reconciliation and reconstruction in Rwanda. The Council stresses the imperative of reinvigorating the political process to provide a framework for any action taken to address security in the camps and the repatriation of Rwandese refugees to Rwanda. The framework should include a mechanism for sustaining a dialogue between the Government of Rwanda, refugee representatives and the United Nations.

"The Security Council considers that the options described in the Secretary-General's report raise complex issues which require further elucidation. The Council requests the Secretary-General to consult potential troop contributors to assess their willingness to participate in a possible peace-keeping operation modeled along the lines described in paragraphs 18 to 25 of the Secretary-General's report, namely to create secure areas within large camp sites, providing safe conditions for the refugees in those areas. The Council requests the Secretary-General to provide a detailed description of the objectives, rules of engagement and costs of such an operation as soon as possible. The Council further requests the Secretary-General to continue to explore as appropriate all possible means of addressing the problems in the camps. The

Council will be giving further urgent consideration of this question in the light of the additional information it receives from the Secretary-General.

"The Security Council encourages the Secretary-General to assess the taking, on an interim basis, of initial measures aimed at providing immediate assistance to the Zairian security forces in protecting humanitarian operations in the camps, including the possibility of deploying security experts, from member Governments or through contract arrangements, to train and monitor the local security forces. The Council also requests the Secretary-General to consider what steps need to be taken to address the question of security in the refugee camps in Tanzania and Burundi. However, the Council is concerned that the use of local security forces without international involvement may not prove to be an effective approach to the security problems in the camps.

"The Security Council recognizes that, in the wake of the events that have overtaken Rwanda, the Government needs immediate and major financial assistance, particularly in the establishment of security conditions inside the country, the maintenance of law and order, the administration of justice, economic and social rehabilitation and national reconciliation for all Rwandese.

"The Security Council notes the deployment of 60 human rights officers in the country and the steps taken by UNAMIR to promote the re-establishment of civil administration throughout the country and looks forward to full deployment. The Council also welcomes the fact that procedures are being instituted, with the cooperation of the Government of Rwanda, to make operational the International Tribunal for Rwanda established in resolution 955 (1994).

"The Security Council reminds States that, in accordance with resolution 925 (1994), the Secretary-General has established a trust fund which could serve as a useful conduit for contributions to meet the immediate needs of the Government of Rwanda. It calls upon the international community to provide the resources needed for the Rwanda Emergency Normalization Plan, the forthcoming UNDP-sponsored round-table meeting and the consolidated inter-agency appeal.

"The Security Council welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to work with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to address the wider problems of the subregion.

"The Security Council notes that preparations are under way for the convening in Bujumbura in the near future of a regional conference on assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons in the Great Lakes region, sponsored by the OAU and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 49/7. It also notes the Secretary-General's view that the United Nations and OAU should jointly convene at a later stage a broader conference to address a range of political and other issues, including national reconciliation, in order to identify long-term solutions to ensure peace, security and development in the subregion. Given the urgent need to take forward the political process as part of an overall strategy, including action on security in the camps and conditions inside Rwanda, the Council requests the Secretary-General to consider how preparations for this conference can be accelerated.

"The Security Council will remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/75.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3473

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3473rd Meeting
Wednesday, 30 November 1994, 5.25 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/1344)

94-87294 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1994/1344)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1994/1344.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1360, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to a vote on the draft resolution before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The situation in Rwanda is once again before the Security Council. This relates to the trauma which Rwanda has had to contend with in the aftermath of the incident of 6 April 1994. The consequences of that tragedy have remained far-reaching, the most important ones being the destabilization of the social structure, the dismantling of the apparatus of Government and the dislocation of the general population.

As we address the major question of refugees, both within and outside Rwanda, it is only appropriate that due cognizance be given to the human dimensions of the problem. In effect, therefore, whatever the international community can do in Rwanda must be people-oriented and people-centred, as well as designed to enable the Rwandese to live down their traumatic experiences and embrace the psychology and culture of accommodation and mutual tolerance so that Rwandese society as a whole can be rebuilt.

In this context, Nigeria welcomes the thrust of the current draft resolution, which seeks to renew the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for another six months, until 9 June 1995. Our major objective in the Council, which should be shared by the international community as a whole, is to assist Rwanda to put in place a Government that works and an administration that stretches throughout the entire country as one constituency in which all Rwandese can achieve their maximum potential, consistent with their abilities. Concurrent with such international efforts is the urgent need for the Government of Rwanda to continue and even accelerate its efforts to provide a climate conducive to the building of confidence among the people of Rwanda — all the people. In this respect, we are gratified to note that the Government is disposed to cooperate with the International Tribunal which is being set up to try those who may have been guilty of serious war crimes, including acts of genocide, committed in Rwanda. We encourage the Government to facilitate this judicial process in the spirit of accountability, equity, justice and national reconciliation.

An additional responsibility assigned to UNAMIR under the current draft resolution seems to us particularly useful as an enabling factor in confidence-building. This relates to the effort to establish and train a new, integrated national police force for the maintenance of law and order. In our view, a viable judicial system, supported by an effective civil and police administration, would in the short run assist the Government to put Rwanda back on its feet and enable it to pursue the goals of social and economic development.

For a society that has been ravaged and traumatized by an internecine civil war, the need for an adequate and sustained flow of useful information which would inform and educate the citizenry, devoid of impassioned and sensational reporting, cannot but be underscored. In this connection, we welcome the efforts to increase the capabilities in Rwanda of radio broadcasts, which are also designed to reach the refugee camps in neighbouring countries. We therefore urge the Government of Rwanda to extend cooperation to the United Nations and UNAMIR in this regard.

Finally, in the current efforts to assist Rwanda in grappling with its present situation, the international community must recognize that there is a crying need for the provision of adequate financial, technical and other concrete forms of assistance. It is within this framework that the recently established Trust Fund for Rwanda becomes not only legitimate but appropriate. We salute those Governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations which have contributed generously towards relief and other forms of assistance to Rwanda. We encourage these countries and organizations to sustain and, indeed, increase their contributions commensurate with the enormity of the problems confronting Rwanda. More importantly, we call on other countries and organizations which have not done so to make their contributions accordingly. No doubt, a country in travail remains grateful to those who have managed to come to its assistance in its most difficult moments.

My delegation fully supports the content, purpose and objective of the present draft resolution, and we will gladly vote in favour of it.

The President: I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1360 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 965 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): France voted in favour of the resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) until 9 June 1995. It believes that the maintenance of the United Nations operation in Rwanda is necessary to enable the country to regain stability. For us the operation is also an indispensable guarantee for the return of Rwandese refugees and their reintegration into their country.

We also welcome the deployment in the country of human rights observers, the number of which is to be increased to 150 by the end of the year. France intends to take an active part in that work, which should help to restore trust among refugees who have already returned to Rwanda.

As emphasized by the Secretary-General in his report on UNAMIR, we find encouraging the statements made by the new Rwandese authorities to reassure expatriate Rwandese and to persuade them to return home. My Government hopes these efforts will be stepped up and that a just solution will be found for the question of the these refugees' recovery of the property they left in Rwanda when they fled to neighbouring countries.

We are aware that the Kigali Government has an extremely difficult situation to face today and that assistance from the international community is necessary to help them rebuild their country. For this reason my country has decided, together with its partners in the European Union, that a large amount of aid will be furnished to Rwanda without delay.

However, it is clear that the national reconciliation of all Rwandese does not depend solely on financial resources provided to the Government of Rwanda. We note in this regard that in his report the Secretary-General himself stresses,

> "While the lack of financial resources has been a major factor in impeding activities towards national reconciliation, there are some reasons to believe that the Government could do more, even within its meagre resources, to ensure that all Rwandese are part of the political process." (*S/1994/1344, para. 9*)

We hope this appeal will be heeded.

By the same token, we encourage the new Rwandese Government to step up its cooperation with UNAMIR so that the latter can very soon start broadcasting messages to encourage the refugees to return.

France has consistently condemned the actions conducted by the militias in the camps to dissuade refugees from returning. However, it is clear that in order to counteract the harmful influence of those militias, which are guilty of the worst atrocities in Rwanda, trust must be fully restored in Rwanda. It is

also essential that the Security Council act promptly and take the necessary decisions to resolve the security question in the camps.

The implementation of these two points — restoration of trust in Rwanda and security in the refugee camps — will make it possible for the international community to continue to commit itself fully to a settlement of the Rwandese crisis by promoting the repatriation of the refugees, which is an indispensable prelude to the reconciliation of all Rwandese.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): We believe the Security Council has just made two very important decisions about the situation in Rwanda. One was the presidential statement on the security situation in the camps outside Rwanda. The other was the resolution we have just adopted renewing the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months. The Council's actions deal with two critical and related matters. It is thoroughly appropriate that they have both been adopted today, but it was equally appropriate, too, that they were the subject of distinct Council actions.

We believe that UNAMIR continues to have a vital role to play in ensuring security for persons at risk in Rwanda and also in the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction in that country. The most visible problem facing Rwanda at present is of course the large number of refugees outside the country and the displaced persons inside the country. It is imperative that these people be encouraged to return to their homes and villages as soon as possible, but a fundamental concern for all these people is whether it will be safe for them to do so.

As was reflected in the presidential statement adopted in the Council on 14 October, UNAMIR's neutral and independent presence is crucial to creating the conditions of security which the returnees need. Thus, we attach great importance to the first task, which is reiterated in the first part of UNAMIR's revised mandate and is set out in paragraph 3 of the resolution. But as the Secretary-General's two recent reports confirm, the situation inside Rwanda is dire. The new Government inherited a situation of almost complete collapse. The national and local institutions that used to govern and hold Rwandan society together have either collapsed entirely or have been so stripped of resources that they can only function on the most rudimentary basis. Clearly, international assistance in providing relief and in getting reconstruction efforts under way is absolutely essential, and the protection that UNAMIR can provide to such operations under the second aspect of its mandate is equally vital.

The considerations just referred to are at the heart of the Secretary-General's recommendations about the situation in the refugee camps outside Rwanda, especially those in Zaire. That report makes it clear that the situation inside the camps is now so bad that urgent efforts are needed to re-establish security in the camps and to encourage the refugees sheltering there to return. The Secretary-General confronted the Council with some hard choices. The judgement of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, which my delegation shares, is that security will not be restored to the camps unless there is action to separate the genuine refugees from the influence of the political leaders and the military and paramilitary forces of the former Government.

The Secretary-General suggested, as the least forceful of the operations and the one he believed most likely to be effective, the establishment of a separate peace-keeping operation which would seek to establish security in the camps on a step-by-step basis. As reflected in today's presidential statement, Council members have decided that we need more information on the concept of operations for such a force and the likely availability of personnel before making a decision on this recommendation. My delegation does believe, however, that it is important to record that we do not believe that private security firms can play a useful role in this job. We believe that the financial, legal and jurisdictional issues that would arise would effectively make such a force unuseful.

I have to say that we also query whether a peace-keeping force alone can do this kind of task. We have no doubt that a military force may need to be close at hand, because the people in these camps who conducted the outrages in Rwanda in April and May of this year have proved themselves to be violent and capable of a military response. But we believe that the task to be performed in the camps is really a kind of police function and not a job for soldiers. We believe that there may need to be an operation which would be based on a police capability but with a military capability in reserve if necessary.

This leads us to a broader question, which is that of the role of the Prosecutor under the International Tribunal Statute which we have adopted. It seems to my delegation that the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal will want at an early stage to make investigations in these very same camps, and indeed, his

concerns will be very much with the same people that are referred to in the Secretary-General's report as needing separation from genuine refugees. If the Prosecutor is to carry out these investigations, he will need to interview such people, and to do so, he will need security and protection — and, indeed, we have already provided in the resolution we have adopted today that the Prosecutor and his staff would need security personnel to carry out their tasks within Rwanda, and my comment would be that they will need such personnel all the more so to carry out those tasks in refugee camps in Goma.

As we see it, the implementation of the resolution relating to the International Tribunal will of its own course inevitably lead the Council and the international community into the need to address precisely the issues that the Secretary-General has raised. Looking ahead, therefore, we would see a role for the Prosecutor, a role for an associated follow-up police function and perhaps also the need, for the protection of both of those, for a military force capable of protecting them.

Finally, I would like to say that we do query whether UNAMIR itself should be tasked with this military deterrent role. We fear that doing so may undercut its impartiality in Rwanda among the very refugees who, on their return to Rwanda, would rely on UNAMIR for their protection. In the minds of these refugees, and to encourage them to return to Rwanda, the perception of the impartiality and independence of UNAMIR will be of fundamental importance. It is for that reason that we think it is extremely important that the Security Council has today adopted this resolution to expand the mandate of UNAMIR and to extend that mandate for a further six months.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): My delegation was pleased to support the resolution just adopted extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months. We believe that this operation is playing a crucial role in creating conditions of security in Rwanda through its neutral and independent presence throughout the country. We are glad that British troops have been able to play a constructive part in UNAMIR's work to this end over the past few months.

Today's resolution also draws attention to another very important part of UNAMIR's Mandate, namely, the exercise of its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation between all elements of Rwandan society. My delegation believes that without a political framework within which to address the key issues relating to national reconciliation, such as land tenure and property rights, it will be impossible to create the conditions within Rwanda which would allow the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes. We hope that all concerned will cooperate in the establishment of such a framework as a matter of urgency.

The proposed regional conference could also play an important role in this context, and we hope that all concerned will work to ensure that it is held as soon as possible.

My delegation recognizes that, while it is clearly the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda to create the conditions within the country to enable refugees to return, and that the demonstration of a real commitment to national reconciliation is a key part of this, the Government of Rwanda does not have the resources to act alone. It needs urgent and substantial assistance in creating the necessary infrastructure. In this context I should like to draw particular attention to the recent decision of the European Union to make 67 million ecus of aid available to Rwanda for this purpose.

As the Council has just noted in its statement, a solution to the appalling problems of Rwanda and its people requires action both within Rwanda and in the camps outside its borders. The most immediate problem in the camps is the establishment of the minimum of security necessary for humanitarian relief to continue. After this there is still the more difficult challenge of creating conditions in the camps which will permit the refugees to return to their homes. The camps cannot and should not be allowed to become permanent, or to be used as bases for the further destabilization of the region. We note the reports of recent measures by the Government of Zaire to remove troublemakers from the camps. The Council has just asked the Secretary-General to give further thought to this issue. We will consider carefully any detailed proposals he may put forward. But any proposal for peace-keeping action put to this Council should be capable of being implemented smoothly and should, in principle, build on the cooperation with neighbouring States, particularly the Government of Zaire, which has recently been manifest.

In conclusion, we hope that there will be early progress on the establishment of a political framework for reconciliation and resumption of national political life. We hope the Council will also receive recommendations

on security in the camps which will enable the Council to take a further decision on this matter before long.

Finally, we will continue to do our part in international efforts to support the Government of Rwanda in its efforts to implement its policies of reconstruction and reconciliation.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has all along supported the international community in its unremitting efforts to resolve the crisis in Rwanda and has been deeply concerned about the increasingly worsening security situation in the Rwandese refugee camps in neighbouring countries and sympathized with the Rwandese people in their sufferings.

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has made tremendous efforts to alleviate the humanitarian crisis in Rwanda and promote its national reconciliation, thus winning acclaim and support from the international community, particularly from Rwanda and other African countries. The extension and expansion of UNAMIR's mandate by the Security Council in its resolution 965 (1994), which has just been adopted, has demonstrated the support of the international community, and the Security Council in particular, for UNAMIR to further its efforts of good offices to help achieve national reconciliation in Rwanda at an early date. The resolution has also emphasized that the international community should further support the Rwandese Government and encourage it to play a fuller role in creating the necessary conditions for the return of refugees.

We appreciate the tripartite agreement recently reached by the Governments of Rwanda and Zaire and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the repatriation of Rwandese refugees. We sincerely hope that the parties concerned in Rwanda will earnestly implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council with a view to achieving national reconciliation through political negotiations on the basis of the Arusha Agreement. Only in this way can the Rwandese people enjoy peace and stability again.

The Chinese delegation voted in favour of resolution 965 (1994). But I wish to make it clear that we have reservations about the elements in the resolution concerning human rights officers. We agree that UNAMIR should do its best to protect United Nations personnel in Rwanda, but the Chinese delegation has always held that United Nations agencies should carry out their duties respectively according to the mandates entrusted to them by the United Nations Charter and that therefore the Security Council should refrain from involving itself in what essentially falls within the terms of reference of other agencies.

Mr. Yanez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have considered with due attention the reports of the Secretary-General dated 18 and 25 November, respectively, dealing with the situation in the Rwandese refugee camps and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

The response of the Security Council to those two reports can be found in the statement which you, Madam President, have just read out on behalf of the Council at the meeting immediately preceding this one, and in resolution 965 (1994) just adopted. Both actions show the continued interest of the international community in helping the people of Rwanda to overcome the tragedy suffered in recent months following genocide in that country, as well as in contributing to stabilize the situation in the region.

The presidential statement comprehensively and precisely reflects the general feeling of members of the Council about the situation in the Rwandese refugee camps, in particular those located in Zaire, and mentions the priorities in trying to get under way a number of measures to guarantee security and the supply of humanitarian assistance to the camps, as well as to promote the free return of refugees to their places of origin. The situation in those camps is extremely sensitive and calls for urgent action by the international community.

My delegation therefore simply wishes to underscore the importance of the Council's knowing as soon as possible, with a view to taking a decision on the establishment of a possible peace-keeping operation, the results of the consultations of the Secretary-General with potential troop-contributing countries, as well as a detailed description of the objectives, the mandate, and the cost of such an operation.

Together with this, the Secretary-General should continue to examine, as appropriate, all possible means to face the problems that arise in the camps through appropriate cooperation between the international community and host States, as well as other States of the region.

These actions must necessarily be accompanied with parallel efforts inside Rwanda aimed at achieving national

reconciliation and reconstruction as the best way to stabilize the situation in the country and promote the return of refugees. We believe that the appropriate frame of reference for fostering such reconciliation is the Arusha Agreement; and we must also promote a mechanism to allow for fruitful dialogue between the Government of Rwanda and representatives of the refugees, with the participation of the United Nations and, as necessary, other regional organizations.

In like manner, the complex reality of the situation requires meeting the urgent needs of the Rwandese authorities so as to enable them to create the necessary conditions for the return of refugees and rebuild a country which at this time lacks a minimum of infrastructure for this purpose. The international community must be fully aware of this situation and must lend the necessary assistance, be it directly or through the Trust Fund established by the Secretary-General, as well as by providing resources for the Rwanda Emergency Normalization Plan prepared by the Representative of the Secretary-General.

Resolution 965 (1994), which we have just adopted unanimously, extends the mandate of UNAMIR for a period of six months. It reaffirms its tasks pursuant to resolution 925 (1994), including the important role of exercising its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation within the frame of reference of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

Likewise, it has been decided to expand the mandate of UNAMIR to include contributing to the security in Rwanda of personnel of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and human rights officers, and to assist in the establishment and training of a new, integrated, national police force. Spain, which participates in UNAMIR with an air transport unit, welcomes this decision, which shows the important role being played by UNAMIR in Rwanda, while adapting that role to new circumstances on the ground.

We wish to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and his Special Humanitarian Envoy to coordinate the United Nations response to the various aspects of the crisis in Rwanda.

We express the hope that during this new stage, the Government of Rwanda will continue to send its full cooperation to UNAMIR in the discharge of its mandate.

Spain is participating actively in the international efforts aimed at seeking and implementing solutions to help the Rwandese people overcome the tragedy it has recently endured. In fact, in addition to participating in UNAMIR, the Government of Spain is lending humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons with an approximate value of $10 million. Here I wish to emphasize, not only the effort of the Government, but above all that of Spanish society, which has become mobilized as never before in any other emergency situation.

In the area of human rights, we are heeding the appeal of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights by sending eight observers to Rwanda. We have also been actively supporting the action of the international community to help to restore justice after the terrible events that have occurred in Rwanda by making available and transmitting all the available documentation on the subject to the Commission of Experts set up under resolution 935 (1994). We have also dispatched two forensic doctors and two expert forensic police and will very soon send a prosecutor. The result of the investigations by these experts will be made available to the Commission and, in due time, to the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for Rwanda.

We understand that all of this work as well as other contacts and bilateral assistance are part of the priorities set forth by the Security Council and the Secretary-General to help to bring about the necessary conditions inside Rwanda for the return of refugees and for stabilizing the situation in the country.

In this connection, we have also decided to contribute $500,000 to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the purpose of cooperating in the work of reconstructing basic services in Rwanda and the same amount to the World Health Organization for rebuilding hospital infrastructures in Rwanda.

Let there be no doubt about the fact that Spain fervently hopes to see the people of Rwanda emerge from the spiral of fratricidal hatred which has engulfed it in the past and begin to build a society based on democratic values and values of justice and solidarity.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): In the aftermath of massive crimes in Rwanda, the international community witnessed an exodus that was unprecedented in terms both of the number of people involved and of the very short period in which it has occurred. Today the violence

against the suffering Rwandese people occurs mostly in the camps located in neighbouring countries, where literally more than a million people have sought refuge in response mainly to a well-orchestrated campaign which combined ethnic hatred and misinformation to spread fear.

The Government of Rwanda must rebuild an entire country ravaged by war. It must create an environment that will attract its citizens back from refugee camps in Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire as well as resettle some 2 million displaced persons within its borders.

Although the situation in Rwanda remains bleak, some signs described in the report of the Secretary-General dated 25 November show that life is slowly returning to normal. That includes the resumption of some private-sector activities, the re-establishment of markets, the increase in agricultural activity, and the reopening of schools.

We are also somewhat encouraged by the recent developments in the political sphere. The Government continues to advocate reconciliation, peace and justice and has gone beyond mere rhetoric. We particularly welcome the incorporation of soldiers from the former Rwandese Government forces into the Rwandese Patriotic Army and the reappointment of local prefects from the former administration.

The renewal of UNAMIR's mandate until 9 June 1995 is an important step. The Brazilian delegation favoured the adoption of this extension as it is an expression of the support of the international community for the Rwandese Government and people in their struggle for national reconciliation.

Resolution 965 (1994), which we have just adopted, reaffirms that UNAMIR will continue to contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons and refugees, to provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and relief operations, and also to exercise its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation within the broad framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. Furthermore, the mandate of UNAMIR has been expanded to include the security, within the territory of Rwanda, of personnel related to the International Tribunal for Rwanda and human rights officers deployed in the country.

We are confident that the Government of Rwanda realizes that it must take the necessary measures to prevent actions that might be counter-productive to the ultimate goal of political national reconciliation and to the return of all Rwandans to their homes.

We are concerned at the reports of increasing initiatives by the former Rwanda Government Forces in recruiting and training new troops in the refugee camps. As the Secretary-General states in his report, such activities lead to the concern that they are preparing for the resuming of confrontation, the tragic consequences of which are well known.

The international community should assist the Rwandese Government to alleviate the plight of its people. Security in refugee camps must be ensured, so that all Rwandans wishing to return to their homes may be allowed to do so in a climate of freedom and safety.

Means must be provided for the Government of Rwanda to function properly. The lack of resources is preventing the Government sector from being reactivated. The Secretary-General is quite right in pointing out that this has been a major factor in the Government's inability to translate public pronouncements concerning nation-building into concrete programmes and actions.

We have voted in favour of resolution 965 (1994) to extend UNAMIR because it represents the will of the international community to continue supporting national reconciliation, peace and political stability in Rwanda.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his reports of 18 and 25 November 1994 pertaining to Rwanda.

Unfortunately, the two reports present quite a disturbing picture. The fledgling Government of Rwanda is still acutely short of the resources needed by it to run a civilian administration, not to mention those needed for the massive task of reconstruction of the social and economic infrastructure of the country.

The situation has been infinitely complicated by what was reported to be going on in the Rwandese refugee camps, especially those in Zaire.

The efforts of the former Rwandese Government forces to recruit, train and equip a large force, and their intention to undertake military operations against the present Government of Rwanda, are to be deplored. Everything possible should therefore be done to stop and reverse the militarization of the refugee camps.

The Government of Pakistan fully sympathizes with the Government of Rwanda and would encourage it to continue, and indeed heighten, its endeavours to broaden

its base further. However, we also feel that the Rwandese Government should receive greater understanding and support from the international community, especially the donor countries. In our view, the foremost requirement from the international community at the present stage is to provide to the Government of Rwanda at least the minimum resources needed by it to perform its basic functions adequately. If this could be achieved, other possible measures relating to encouraging the return of refugees as well as a wider national reconciliation in Rwanda would acquire greater meaning as well as a better chance of success.

My delegation has supported the resolution just adopted, as we find it in full accord with our views. We accept the expansion of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), as spelt out in paragraph 3 of the resolution. However, it is for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to determine if the additional tasks being assigned to UNAMIR can be effectively carried out with the resources currently at the disposal of UNAMIR, or whether this would require any augmentation of UNAMIR's strength. The Council has, quite rightly, not prejudged this issue.

My delegation continues to extend its admiration and fullest support to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, as well as to all members of UNAMIR, for the effective manner in which its mandate is being discharged, despite the immense prevailing difficulties.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his two reports on the situation in the camps and on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). My delegation also takes this opportunity to thank Mr. Kofi Annan and his team, as well as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Kigali, those who are heading UNAMIR in Kigali, and the troop-contributing countries.

I should like to make my comments not on the military aspects of UNAMIR but on what the Government of Rwanda has achieved, thanks, *inter alia*, to the presence on the ground of the UNAMIR forces. As members of the Council know, the Government of Rwanda was established barely four months ago. During this rather short time, with no resources, this fledgling Government has been able to achieve the following.

The main task of the broad-based Government of National Unity, which was established in July 1994, was to tackle the enormous task of national reconciliation within the framework of the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

At the political level, all the elements of our society have been integrated into the various national institutions, with the exception of the elements implicated in genocide and other massacres.

I should also mention the incorporation of more than 2,000 soldiers of the former Rwandese governmental forces into the Rwandese Patriotic Army. I note, for the Council's information, that in 1990 the army consisted of 4,000 soldiers.

The Government has established a territorial administration that seeks to promote national reconciliation, as shown by the fact that all prefects except one are civilians and by the reappointment of two prefects from the previous regime.

The President of the Republic, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and other Ministers constantly urge reconciliation, peace and justice at major rallies organized throughout the country.

The National Assembly, which was recently established, includes all the political parties of the country, except one, including the parties of the army — and we note that one officer who was part of the former Rwandese Government Army is now a Member of Parliament representing the national army.

I turn now to economic, administration and social aspects. Various obstacles have been placed in the path of my Government's efforts and have prevented them from achieving results. We would like to mention the lack or insufficiency of the necessary personnel and resources. Many well-trained professionals were assassinated, mutilated or forced into exile. The looting of banks by the former Government forces, the destruction of economic, administrative, educational and social infrastructures, the dire state of our communications and of our energy system, the lack of drinking water — all these seriously impede the work of the Government.

All those handicaps explain why the Government is not able to implement its policy of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

For all those reasons, the Rwandese Government needs more bilateral and multilateral aid to enable it to live up to the expectations of national and international opinion *vis-à-vis* national reconciliation, the restoration of total peace, and the reconstruction and socio-economic development of Rwanda, which has been devastated by war. Since they desire to take responsibility for the development of the country themselves, the Government and the people of Rwanda deserve this manifold assistance to revive the national economy and to rebuild all the vital sectors of the country.

Although within the international community some willingness has been shown to assist Rwanda to rebuild the country, it is highly regrettable that some countries are having recourse to other impediments at their disposal to deprive Rwanda of the massive external assistance it needs. In their blocking manoeuvres, certain countries are demanding of the Rwandese Government that it do more than it is capable of doing — that it do the impossible — as a condition for receiving that assistance.

That is why my delegation wishes to ask the international community to denounce this attitude and to help Rwanda obtain urgently the major economic assistance that is so vital to the Rwandese Government and people. My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the States and organizations that have already heeded this appeal.

In conclusion, my delegation voted in favour of this resolution to show the support my Government wishes to give to the work of UNAMIR. But, once again, we wish to inform the members of the Council that the national priority is national reconstruction; less and less is the priority soldiers and weapons.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The United States Government is pleased to have been able to support the resolution just adopted extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). UNAMIR has done an exceptional job in difficult and rapidly changing circumstances. We particularly wish to thank all the troop-contributing countries which have responded favourably to the Secretary-General's requests to participate in UNAMIR.

UNAMIR, the Force Commander and the Secretary-General's Special Representative have responded admirably to the evolving situation in Rwanda. But because the situation in Rwanda has changed since the Council last extended UNAMIR's mandate, it was necessary in the current resolution to clarify that mandate. We are well aware that UNAMIR has done an exemplary job of providing protection for all manner of international civilian personnel, whether involved in humanitarian assistance, investigation of allegations of genocide, monitoring of human rights or other necessary pursuits. However, the mandate was originally designed before the establishment of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and before human rights monitors were deployed by the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The renewed mandate therefore makes it clear that human rights monitors and Tribunal personnel are entitled to protection. We do not believe that additional UNAMIR personnel will be required to carry out these protection functions, which UNAMIR has already begun to perform.

The United States Government is making preparations to dispatch investigators, prosecutors and support personnel to work with the International Tribunal. It is important that UNAMIR provide security for all the Tribunal's personnel, as well as for their premises, to ensure that they can carry out their work effectively and free from fear for their personal safety. We are sure that UNAMIR will design security arrangements in close consultation with the chief prosecutor, the head of the human rights officers and the Government of Rwanda.

The civilian police component of UNAMIR has been functioning for some time. The Council encouraged UNAMIR, in the presidential statement of 14 October, to continue the activities of its civilian police observers. We reiterate that support in the current resolution.

We believe that UNAMIR can carry out these responsibilities within existing resources for the moment. If the Secretary-General determines that additional resources might be necessary at some time in the future, he should inform the Council. We can consider at that time whether to authorize additional resources.

In closing, let me thank the Secretary-General, the Secretariat staff here in New York and the personnel out in the field for their close monitoring and analysis of the various aspects of the Rwanda crisis, as reflected in the two long and complicated reports which they produced in the space of less than one week. We appreciate their efforts.

I resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3474

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3474th Meeting

Wednesday, 30 November 1994, 6.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vekilov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

94-87300 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 6.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Afghanistan

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/1277, which contains the text of a letter dated 9 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council notes with appreciation the progress made by the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, led by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri, and the report of the Secretary-General of 22 November 1994 (A/49/688).

"The Security Council fully supports the Special Mission's broad-based consultations with Afghan representatives and its proposals to bring about an end to the factional fighting, institute a process of political reconciliation and begin the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan.

"The Security Council welcomes the acceptance by the warring parties and other Afghan representatives of a step-by-step process of national reconciliation through the establishment of a fully representative and broad-based Authoritative Council, which would: (i) negotiate and oversee a cease-fire, (ii) establish a national security force to collect and safeguard heavy weapons and provide for security throughout the country, and (iii) form a transitional government to lay the groundwork for a democratically chosen government, possibly utilizing traditional decision-making structures such as a 'Grand Assembly'.

"The Security Council notes with grave concern, however, the continuation of hostilities among the warring parties in Afghanistan, involving the continued suffering, death and destitution of innocent citizens of the country, and calls for an immediate halt to these pointless and destructive attacks.

"The Security Council calls upon all States to take the necessary steps to promote peace in Afghanistan; to prevent the continued flow of weapons, ammunition and military supplies to the warring parties in Afghanistan; and to put an end to this destructive conflict.

"Recognizing that the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of war-torn Afghanistan will be dependent in large part upon the progress made toward the establishment of a reliable cease-fire and the development of a viable political process, the Security Council urges all States to support the peacemaking proposals of the Special Mission and to recognize its primary role in the peacemaking process.

"The Security Council calls on all States to respect Afghanistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity, strictly refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and respect the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny, and reaffirms its readiness to assist the Afghan people in their desire to achieve peace and tranquillity in their country."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/77.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3475

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3475th Meeting
Friday, 2 December 1994, 8 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Bakuramutsa	(Rwanda)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Füle
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

94-87330 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 8.30 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President (*interpretation from French*): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of December, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Her Excellency Mrs. Madeleine Korbel Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, for her service as President of the Security Council for the month of November 1994. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Albright for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which she conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Egypt and Turkey, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misic (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took places at the Council table; Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) and Mr. Batu (Turkey) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1358, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Djibouti, Egypt, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda and Turkey.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to documents S/1994/1246 and S/1994/1372, which contain the texts of letters dated 2 November and 1 December 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the reports of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, concerning the operations of the International Conference's Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

I should also like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1355, letter dated 25 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1361, letter dated 28 November 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/1364 and S/1994/1366, letters dated 30 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council, respectively.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 2 December 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia on the conclusion of an Economic Agreement between the Croatian Government and the Serb local authorities, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/1375.

The first speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on whom I now call.

Mr. Misic (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Allow me from the outset to congratulate His Excellency Ambassador Bakuramutsa on his assumption of the presidency of this Security Council. We are fully confident that he will ably lead this Council in confronting all the challenges it may encounter, especially at this time, when the credibility and even the utility of this Organization are in question. Also, allow me to commend Her Excellency Ambassador Albright on the

determined, eloquent and energetic fashion in which she led November's deliberations.

The draft resolution before us this evening is a manifestation of why the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole are in a position in which their credibility and utility are in question. The need for this draft resolution has been brought about not just because of the failure of resolution 820 (1993) — and specifically paragraph 12 — to be implemented, but also because the monitoring Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia itself has, wittingly or unwittingly, facilitated the violation of paragraph 12, as indicated in the 2 November report of the International Conference's Co-Chairmen, whereby:

> "fuel is transported on 52 specially designated trucks ... Normally, convoys of some 20 trucks, escorted by police, transit into Croatia ... trucks leave Belgrade two to three times a week." (*S/1994/1246, para. 26*)

With total clarity, paragraph 12 prohibits the

> "import to, export from and transshipment through the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia and those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, with the exception of essential humanitarian supplies",

saying that they

> "shall be permitted only with proper authorization"

from the Governments of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

Furthermore, this fuel is in addition to the fuel which the so-called Krajina Serbs regularly receive under other decisions, and has subsequently been used to carry out their war efforts against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this latest offensive, the Krajina Serbs have blatantly and with impunity violated, first, an international border; secondly, a United Nations-designated safe area; thirdly, a United Nations-established no-fly zone; fourthly, the demilitarized status of the United Nations Protected Areas; and fifthly, the Vance plan for Croatia. The Krajina Serbs have also sent some of this fuel to their cohorts in Bosnia, thus undermining the objectives that the Security Council set in resolution 943 (1994), adopted only 10 weeks ago. These fuel shipments have also allowed both the Croatian and the Bosnian Serbs to fire upon United Nations peace-keeping troops, putting these committed soldiers in direct jeopardy of life and limb and forcing them to abandon posts established within the Bihac safe area.

The legal and, moreover, the practical absurdity of the mission's actions are self-evident. It is unfortunate that because of an absence of will on the part of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) command to implement Security Council resolutions, this Council must, for the second time in as many weeks, consider mandates already in existence. Nevertheless, we would welcome this resolution, as it sends the message that strategic resources such as fuel, directed to the so-called Krajina Serbs cannot be used for the pursuit of war and for violations of international law, nor can they be used for the benefit of the Bosnian Serb party. It would also give some desperately required reinforcement to the clear mandate on the delivery of humanitarian aid. In short, this resolution would, if adopted, pragmatically respond to the challenges that the transgressing Serb parties have presented to this Council and to UNPROFOR itself. On the other hand, the failure of this resolution would signify an evasion of responsibility, as well as ignoring and abrogating decisions of the Security Council. However, we are of the view that those members who fail to support this draft resolution would practically be associating themselves with the Knin and Pale authorities. And if some consider it now acceptable to send fuel to Knin and Pale, what will be considered acceptable later?

But even as we speak, we are being presented with new Serb challenges and outrages to international law and order. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) jets supplementing UNPROFOR's efforts have been fired upon, while Serb forces have recently been equipped with air defence systems. More than 400 UNPROFOR soldiers have been, in United Nations parlance, "detained", by Serbian forces. Serbian forces today fired three rockets into the Presidency building while the Special Representative of the Secretary-General was in the building, detailing the provisions of a cease-fire to which my Government agreed days ago. Regrettably, today's news suggests that the UNPROFOR command is not yet ready or willing to meet these challenges, but is once again taking a path that by now is spattered with blood, costly failure, and broken promises. I have to inform the Council that today President Izetbegovic sent a letter to the Secretary-General alerting him that Karadzic's Serbs have installed systems of surface-to-air missiles around the safe areas of Gorazde, Zepa and Srebrenica.

Rather than permitting action against the surface-to-air missiles which threaten NATO pilots in the Bihac region, the UNPROFOR command has chosen to ground NATO jets, abrogating the mandated enforcement of the "no-fly zone", and only two weeks after "Krajina Serb" jets strafed and bombed Bihac civilians. Even more discouraging is the fact that some Council members have not publicly asked where these air-defence systems came from, and when. Why then has the Council not called for an update on the success, or lack thereof, of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) monitoring mission?

The only thing worse than having military factors abdicate commitments and appease the arrogant and aggressive actions of Bosnian and Krajina Serbs is for civilian factors to do the same. Yet, it is being widely reported that the Contact Group, the civilian factors entrusted with bringing peace to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are now considering allowing war criminals in Pale to confederate with Serbia and Montenegro, and also considering making further territorial concessions to the Pale Serbs. This would come at the expense of the peace plan drawn up by the Contact Group itself, at the expense of unitary and multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the expense of the Bosnian population and at the expense of regional stability.

Yet Bosnians are not the only ones gravely concerned at this abandonment and appeasement, for this abandonment and appeasement come also at the expense of this Organization and the Charter on which it is based. What are the smaller nations of the United Nations, some with very powerful and aggressive neighbours, to think? For more than two and a half years, the standards set by the Geneva Conventions and by the Charter have plummeted, so much so that future aggressors can only scoff at the idea of international resolve.

If this resolution is adopted, we are hoping to see a new course of action evolve, but today's reports indicate otherwise. Unless a new course is undertaken, one characterized by determination and not by impotence, then not only Bosnia but this Organization will suffer serious consequences.

The international community should ask itself how far it can retreat from continued Serbian encroachments — encroachments not just against Bosnian land and people, but against Security Council resolutions, the Charter, and all relevant principles of international law and order. What kind of "new reality" will this retreat create? And finally, who will venture once more to ask my Government to face this new reality in the making?

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Croatia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, the Ambassador of the United States of America, for her energetic and constructive work during the previous month.

The two-week long attack on Bihac is violating six major United Nations principles and decisions: first, the no-fly zone continues to be violated; secondly, the safe area continues to be violated; thirdly, the international border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to be violated; fourthly, the mandate regarding delivery of humanitarian aid continues to be violated; fifthly, the mandate regarding the safety of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) personnel continues to be undermined. Finally, the illegal arrangements made by the co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) to supply the local Croatian Serb party, which is attacking Bihac, with significant amounts of strategic material, fuel, that is being used against the Bihac safe area by both the local Croatian Serb party and the Bosnian Serbs represent a clear violation of Security Council resolution 820 (1993), paragraph 12.

My delegation believes that the draft resolution in document S/1994/1358 before us would send the right message — that the international community is not completely caving in to the circumstances in the Bihac region and that, despite its lack of resolve in respect of the use of force option, it is willing to take steps to minimize the suffering of the civilian population in the region. This is why my delegation has called for the timely adoption of this resolution.

In regard to the use of force in the region consistent with existing Security Council resolutions, and the importance my Government attaches to the credible use of this option as a critical element in the peace process, we must note that the way force was recently used in the region may have been counter-productive. It may have

served only to embolden the aggressors and demoralize the innocent civilians and defenders in Bihac. My Government had hoped that its permission to use Croatian airspace would serve to deter aggression. It has not.

For this reason, and because of some recent ideas on patrolling the airspace in the region, my Government will in the future request to study closely any proposals for the use of its airspace, and is now considering closely the present authorization for the use of its airspace altogether. In the case of military use of its airspace by regional arrangements, Croatia will permit the use of its airspace for the sole purpose of implementing Security Council resolutions.

At the same time, we are quite aware that the use of multinational air assets may no longer be an option. If, however, the international community chooses to completely withdraw from the problem of Bihac, my Government will draw the obvious conclusions. The lessons of Bihac will have wider implications. Our trust in the capacities and intentions of the international community in Croatia has come into question. Therefore, the views expressed by my Defence Minister in this regard should be taken very seriously.

Furthermore, the violation of the international border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in respect of the developments in Bihac has not been adequately addressed by the Security Council. Such a state of affairs is promoting and allowing a de facto unification of the local Croatian Serb and Bosnian Serb parties into a single military and territorial entity. The Security Council is obligated to dispel any possibility of such a unification at this critical moment. The draft resolution will accomplish this objective by reinforcing principles already established in resolution 820 (1993).

The draft resolution will also reinforce the Security Council's clear mandate regarding the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its clear responsibility to protect and secure the welfare of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) personnel in the region. While we are familiar with the trying situation of the brave Bangladeshi battalion in the area, we seem to overlook the fact that humanitarian convoys for civilian needs in Bihac have been blocked for weeks.

Moreover, the draft resolution would send a message that strategic resources, such as fuel, directed to the local Croatian Serb party cannot be used for the benefit of Bosnian Serbs nor be used by the local Croatian Serb party to violate the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that all arrangements to supply the local Croatian Serb party must cease unless, of course, this is approved by the Croatian Government beforehand.

Some delegations have expressed the view during the prior consultations that the draft resolution would affect negatively the economic reintegration agreement between the Croatian Government and the local Croatian Serb party signed today. I assure members that it would not. On the contrary, the draft resolution would promote the implementation of the agreement. Its implementation is possible only when the relevant borders are sealed and the local Croatian Serb party decides to cooperate with the Croatian Government to satisfy its economic and humanitarian needs.

In other words, the Security Council's adoption of the draft resolution would give political support for implementation of the agreement. The economic reintegration package is strictly tied to all Security Council resolutions, including resolution 820 (1993). Resolution 820 (1993), like all the others, will remain in force even if the Council acts negatively on the draft resolution.

Over the past few months, the Serbs have defied His Holiness Pope John Paul II; they have discredited the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); and they have snubbed the Secretary-General, among many others. It is this Council and Croatia that have yet to be subdued. Croatia will not be subdued.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Croatia for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): Allow me to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I assure you of the full cooperation of the

delegation of Pakistan in the discharge of your important responsibilities.

I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey the profound appreciation of the Pakistan delegation for the exemplary, efficient and outstanding manner in which Ambassador Madeleine Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States of America, guided the affairs of the Council during the month of November.

The Council once again debates the tragic crisis in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina which has with every passing day worsened since it began some 32 months ago. The continued aggression by the Serbs against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their remorseless pursuit of the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing" and genocide of the civilian population — particularly the Muslims — undoubtedly constitutes one of the gravest tragedies of modern times.

The Bosnian Government and people have suffered a double tragedy. While on the one hand they have been the subject of Serbian aggression, on the other they have become the victims of international indifference and denied their inherent right to self-defence.

A large number of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and an equally large number of presidential statements have remained unimplemented and unfulfilled. The defiance by the Bosnian Serbs of these resolutions and the will of the international community has no parallel in recent history. They have not only defied the Security Council resolutions but also spurned and rejected all peace proposals. The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the other hand, has throughout the crisis exhibited an exemplary spirit of understanding and courage and, despite the iniquitous nature of the peace plans, has accepted them. Unfortunately, the world community has stood by and appears unable to make any distinction between aggressor and victim. A similar paralysis existed in the 1930s, with the devastating consequences that are now a matter of history.

The latest position obtaining in the area of Bihac and the inaction of the United Nations Command and members of the five-nation Contact Group is a matter of grave concern for the delegation of Pakistan. A United Nations designated safe area has remained subjected to the attacks of Bosnian Serbs joined in by Krajina Serbs who are not only imperilling the safety and security of the civilian population but also violating the safe area of Bihac and the international border of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, in a letter sent to the Secretary-General on 28 November 1994, stated:

> "I am writing to you to convey the deep concern and consternation shared by the people of Pakistan, and indeed by the people of the world, about the situation in Bihac. Immediate action is needed to save the population of Bihac from destruction. ... The need for action is immediate and brooks no delay. The United Nations cannot stand by and permit this genocide. To do so would be to destroy the credibility of the United Nations, make a mockery of what the United Nations stands for and encourage other would-be aggressors in today's turbulent world to take similar steps safe in the knowledge that the international community had been reduced to impotence. The consequences for the United Nations efforts to promote peace and stability could not be more devastating."

The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) remains gravely concerned at the deteriorating condition in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in the Bihac region. The Foreign Ministers of the OIC Contact Group on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the OIC troop-contributing countries will come together in an emergency ministerial meeting in Geneva on 6 December 1994 to review the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to decide on further measures.

Pakistan, along with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Djibouti, Egypt, Nigeria, Oman, Rwanda and Turkey, has the honour of sponsoring draft resolution S/1994/1358, which is under consideration by the Council. This draft merely reconfirms earlier decisions of the Security Council with respect to the transshipment of goods destined for the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia. It demands strict and full compliance with paragraph 12 of resolution 820 (1993) on the international border between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as well as on the international border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It emphasizes importance of a continuous and unimpeded flow of humanitarian assistance to all the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and calls on all parties to ensure unimpeded access for personnel of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and

personnel of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the performance of their respective mandates.

This draft resolution is designed primarily to ensure the full implementation of the earlier decisions of the Security Council so that supplies intended for humanitarian assistance are not diverted for military purposes, thus enabling the Serbs to continue their present assault against Bosnia, particularly in the Bihac region. It is the hope of its sponsors that this draft resolution will receive the full support of the members of the Security Council.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): The delegation of Nigeria wishes to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of December. You may rest assured of our full support and cooperation in the discharge of your duties.

I should like also to express my delegation's appreciation of the effective manner in which your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United States, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of November.

As one of its sponsors, the Nigerian delegation wishes to reiterate that the primary objective of the draft resolution before the Council is to reaffirm and clarify the provisions of previous Council resolutions on the movement of non-humanitarian goods across the international borders in the areas of conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

It is clear that this draft resolution does not, and is not intended to, create new measures against any party to the conflict. Rather, it is intended to strengthen the implementation of the relevant resolutions already adopted by the Council on the subject.

We also believe that the draft resolution does not create new incentives or disincentives. It is our judgement that it will not impact negatively on the recently concluded economic agreement between the Croatian Government and the Serb local authorities. Rather, it will facilitate the various efforts on the ground, especially those of the Contact Group aimed at getting the Bosnian Serb party to accept the Peace Plan.

In recent weeks we have witnessed coordinated attacks across international borders and in violation of United Nations-designated safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These events have more than convinced my delegation not only of the need but of the justification for the Council's serious consideration of this draft resolution.

What is more, according to the latest reports, we are now confronted in Bosnia not merely with restrictions on the movement of personnel of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) but, more ominously, with their kidnapping and physical detention. We deplore these acts and once again call on all parties, particularly the Bosnian Serbs, immediately to accept a cease-fire arrangement and release all detained UNPROFOR personnel.

I wish to say, in conclusion, that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution and hopes that it will enjoy the support of all the members of the Council.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: I should like, at the outset, to express the sincere congratulations of the delegation of the Sultanate of Oman to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We wish you every success. We are convinced that, thanks to your well-known wisdom, ability and diplomatic skill, you will successfully conduct the business of the Council. I assure you of our full cooperation with you as you undertake your tasks.

I wish also to put on record our thanks and appreciation to the Ambassador of the United States and her delegation for their good work well done during her presidency of the Council in November — a month that was very busy indeed.

There is no doubt that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the latest acts of aggression against the Bihac area, are cause for grave concern. The latest battles, which resulted in the detention by the Serbs of some of the personnel of the United Nations Protection Force thus putting them at risk, as well as the bombing of the safe areas are acts that blatantly violate all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council — resolutions that affirm the inviolability of those areas and the need to

facilitate the task of United Nations personnel and not to restrict their freedom of movement in the discharge of their duties.

In spite of a marked improvement in the security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past few months and the subsequent steps that were taken and led to the intensification of international pressure on the Bosnian Serbs, the Croatian Serbs' entrance into the arena has brought about a negative change that now threatens the possibility of any settlement. Despite the concern expressed by the Council in the presidential statements of the past month over the continued aggression against the safe areas and the violation of international borders, despite condemnations by the Council of the military escalation which took the form of air attacks by Serbian warplanes and the dropping of cluster bombs on the inhabitants of those areas and despite the military strike by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against the areas from which the Serbian aircraft took off, no response was forthcoming and there was not the slightest compliance by the Croatian Serbs with any of the Security Council's resolutions. Even to this day, bombardment of Bihac continues unabated, raining death and destruction on the civilian population, their houses, their hospitals and their schools and resulting in the displacement of thousands of refugees seeking a respite from the fire of Serbian guns.

While my delegation supports all international efforts aimed at achieving an acceptable peaceful settlement that would spare the lives of thousands of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and restore that Republic's stability and security, my delegation joins the non-aligned countries members of the Security Council, together with Egypt, Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in sponsoring the draft resolution now before us. We believe that ultimately it seeks to provide for an international verification mechanism that would prevent fuel from getting to the Croatian Serbs, thus limiting their use of their military machine to bomb safe areas and cause further destruction. As a sponsor of the draft resolution, we are hopeful that, if it is adopted by the Council, it will contribute to stopping acts of aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. While we support the noble aims and peaceful principles that led to the necessity of proposing such a draft resolution which we believe is only a reiteration of other Security Council resolutions adopted in the past, we believe that the Council, if it adopts the draft resolution, will reaffirm its determination to reach a peaceful solution in that Republic. We therefore call upon the Serbs living in Croatia and the others concerned to adhere to the resolutions of the Security Council and not to take any actions that would threaten its security and endanger the safety of neighbouring peoples.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): My delegation is very pleased to welcome you, Sir, as our current President. We are certain that with your obvious dedication and tenacity you will provide the leadership and guidance the Council needs in these controversial times.

We also wish to express our deep appreciation for the very capable and skilful manner in which Ambassador Madeleine Albright of the United States directed the affairs of the Council last month at such a high level of productivity and accomplishment.

One must marvel at the consistent manner in which the pattern of events in Bosnia never changes, never surprises and remains so absolutely predictable. Each episode commences with the ceremonial laying down of the gauntlet, usually in the form of a clear and forthright Council resolution or a newly revised final peace plan laden with implicit punishment for dissenters and fully supported by the drafting Powers. Without fail, or at least usually, the Government of Bosnia accepts the resolution or the proposal and places the ball in the court of the Serbs, who, equally without fail, reject it. Then, in order to seize the initiative from the United Nations or the international peacemakers, the Serbs embark upon a programme of outrageous and confrontational behaviour designed to shatter the apparent unity and resolve of the Council or the apparently united front of the peacemakers, throwing policy into confusion and causing recriminations between members, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), until all is in disarray. Once again, it seems the way out of this mess is sought in yet another form of concession to the Serbs by way of failure to implement clear Council resolutions or by the revision of peace proposals. Bihac fits this mould perfectly.

Particularly galling about the conflict in Bosnia has been the transparent manner in which the United Nations arms embargo has with our knowledge so singularly affected the Bosnian Government, leaving virtually unscathed the military capability of the Serbs. The dramatic turnaround and assault on Bihac is a result of this continuing arms imbalance, combined with the

incursion and participation across Bosnia's international borders of Croatian Serbs and Serb-armed Muslim renegades. Not surprisingly, Bihac is ready to fall.

There are murmurings, growing louder, which say that Bihac cannot be saved, that the United Nations and NATO can do nothing to reverse the Serb assault and that the situation is apparently hopeless. And, right on schedule, there is growing sentiment, it seems, to adjust the international peace plan to make it more attractive again to the Serbs. Obviously, anything done to make the final plan more attractive would simply amount to rewarding the Serbs for their aggression, to which, along with numerous other things, the Council has time and time again declared its firm opposition.

The stark truth is that the Bosnian Serbs have defiantly embarked upon a course of embarrassing the Council, UNPROFOR, the United Nations and NATO — in fact, the entire international community. The odd thing is that in so many ways and for so long this has been accepted. The only difference is that we are now clearly poised to accept the invincibility of the Serbs, and the consequences are unquestionably disastrous.

What is unsettling at this juncture are the lessons of history, which call for the preparation of a revised final proposal encompassing new conditions thought to be more favourable to the Serbs. Predictably, the Bosnian Government will be heavily pressured to accept the proposal, which they probably will, only to have it rejected yet again by the Bosnian Serbs. There will follow a period in which their behaviour is confrontational and aggressive, causing a reconsideration of the proposal, and the process continues to repeat itself until eventually there will be very little left for the Bosnian Government to concede. There may, in fact, no longer be a Bosnia. Very simply, my delegation believes the Council can intervene to halt this process, and that honour demands that we simply do what we have already said we are going to do.

My delegation therefore feels that the effort to constrain the Serb war machine needs to continue with maximum effort. Resolution 820 (1993), particularly paragraph 12, contains the authority and provisions, as well as the spirit, of what the draft resolution intends, namely, totally to shackle the Serb war-making capability. It is difficult to imagine objections to such a move in the light of recent Serb assaults in Bihac and Sarajevo and across the borders of Bosnia. Unless this violent, unreasonable and now contemptuous force is checked, we may face the very real possibility of a serious escalation of hostilities involving many more players in and around the Balkans.

Had we simply implemented the provisions of our previous resolutions resolutely from the beginning, clearly we would not be where we are today. This draft resolution, initiated by members of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Security Council, simply says: Let us do what we wanted to do in the first place, and do it now.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Djibouti for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* First, allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of your important post at this critical moment. I am convinced that, given your intelligence, experience and outstanding skill, you will successfully guide the work of the Security Council this month.

I should also like to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Albright, for her successful conduct of the work of the Council during the past month.

What concerns the Chinese delegation most are the peace efforts to solve the conflict in Bosnia, because, fundamentally and from the long-term perspective, the real hope for a solution to the Bosnian conflict lies in political and diplomatic efforts rather than in anything else. Therefore, we urge the parties concerned to continue their patient negotiations to reach an appropriate solution.

We can understand the concern of the sponsors of the draft resolution over the worsening situation in Bosnia. We can support the elements in the draft resolution that reaffirm respect for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, the need to ensure the safety of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) personnel and the need to strengthen humanitarian assistance as well as to ensure UNPROFOR's unimpeded ability to perform its mandate.

However, I would reiterate that we cannot agree to invoking Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter for sanctions in the region of former Yugoslavia. We believe that that would only further aggravate the confrontation and would not be conducive to a final, comprehensive

political solution to the problems in the region of former Yugoslavia.

Based on our stated position on resolution 820 (1993), we have difficulties with regard to the portion of the draft resolution that seeks to reaffirm the relevant elements of that resolution. Therefore, the Chinese delegation will have to abstain in the voting on the draft resolution.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to extend my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. I should also like to place on record my delegation's appreciation of the outstanding job done by your predecessor, Ambassador Albright of the United States of America.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us because, by and large, we share the goals that inspired its sponsors.

The Security Council has already explicitly condemned the intensification of military activity in Bihac in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the violation of that country's border with the Republic of Croatia. It therefore goes without saying that the relevant resolutions adopted by the Security Council regulating the transshipment of goods across the international borders with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) must be strictly complied with.

In this connection my delegation trusts that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) will expand its present cooperation and conform with the provisions of the draft resolution we shall be voting on today, thereby ensuring its effectiveness.

Finally, with regard to paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, my delegation would like to place it on record that in our opinion the word "Reconfirms" should be construed to mean a reaffirmation of the Security Council's determination.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): First, allow me, Sir, to join my colleagues in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency. I wish you success in your task and assure you that we will give you all support in your endeavour.

We should also like to take this opportunity to commend highly the Permanent Representative of the United States, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, for the way in which she led the Council's work as President last month.

The Russian delegation profoundly regrets that the draft resolution of the group of non-aligned countries on the implementation of the restrictions established in resolution 820 (1993) on imports and exports to the Bosnian and Krajina Serbs was brought to the Security Council for a vote. We feel that this initiative was completely inadequate to deal with the specific situation that has evolved to date in regard to the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

It is our firm view that tightening restrictions against the Krajina and Bosnian Serbs, whose destructive and disproportionate armed actions in the Bosnian conflict we condemn, in fact leads to a "tightening of screws" in the implementation of the sanctions regime established in resolution 820 (1993), the basic purpose of which, when it was adopted, was to step up the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

To be frank, there could hardly have been a more untimely moment for the submission of today's draft resolution. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has begun to cooperate constructively with the international efforts under way, for example those of the Contact Group, and has unconditionally supported the territorial settlement plan; it has closed its border to all deliveries of goods to the Bosnian Serbs with the exception of humanitarian supplies; and it is productively cooperating with the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, as is reflected in that Mission's reports, including the latest one, dated 1 December, which was circulated today.

In the light of all that, the Russian Federation is of the opinion that the positive approach of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia deserves further encouragement, *inter alia* by suspending the applicability of Security Council resolution 820 (1993). We intend to submit our concrete views on this, but in the present conditions any question — even indirect — of tightening the sanctions

regime is illogical, and we feel it is politically inadmissible.

There is another important factor as well: Only today, an economic agreement was signed in Zagreb and Knin in the presence of international mediators, a major event towards solution of the problems of Croatia which was welcomed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contact Group at their meeting today in Brussels. At the same time, they emphasized that implementation of the agreement could lead to a *modus vivendi* in Krajina.

The adoption at such a time of a resolution aimed against the Krajina Serbs would not only cancel all efforts to bring about an economic agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the Serb authorities in the United Nations Protected Areas, but, in a broader context, would also undermine the negotiating process that we have been at such pains to set in train. The delegation of the Russian Federation has had an opportunity, in detail, to state its objections to this draft resolution during the Council's consultations. We pointed out clearly the inadmissibility of putting the draft resolution to a vote, particularly in such a hasty manner. Unfortunately, our words fell on deaf ears and our legitimate arguments were met with unconvincing responses. Accordingly, we have no choice but to vote against this draft resolution.

We hope that in the work of the Security Council on the Bosnian settlement, a sound, balanced approach, aimed at putting the process back on track towards a political settlement, will ultimately prevail. This is precisely the approach, based on the implementation of all Security Council resolutions, not unilateral steps, adopted by the Ministers of the Contact Group at their meeting in Brussels today.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1358.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

Russian Federation

Abstaining:

China

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 13 votes in favour, 1 against and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has not been adopted owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council.

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): I should like to begin, Sir, by congratulating you on behalf of my delegation and on behalf, personally, of Ambassador Albright on the assumption of your responsibilities as President of the Security Council, and we look forward very much to working with you in the course of this month. I should also like to express my gratitude to those members of the Council who have expressed appreciation for Ambassador Albright's role in the past month, and I will certainly convey those greetings to her.

This draft resolution would have reaffirmed decisions already taken by the Council in previous resolutions. Under resolution 943 (1994), trade across the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is restricted to foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for essential humanitarian needs. The draft resolution would have addressed a serious discrepancy between these requirements and actual practice — specifically, the transshipment of prohibited goods from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) through Bosnia to the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia. It is essential that the international community maintain its efforts to isolate the Pale Serbs and secure their acceptance of the Contact Group proposals. That is why we voted tonight for the draft resolution. Its failure to pass is regrettable, but that does not change the fact that a strict regime of economic measures directed at the Pale Serbs is already embodied in legal, binding resolutions of this Council, whose requirements are clear and unequivocal. We will continue our efforts to assure the firm application of the Council's measures in order to persuade the Pale Serbs that acceptance of the Contact Group proposal is in their interest and that rejection is not.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Let me first congratulate you very warmly, Sir, on assuming the office of President of this Council. Please be assured that the New Zealand delegation stands ready to work with you and assist you in any possible way. In the same spirit, I want to congratulate and thank Ambassador Albright and the members of her team for their extraordinary work for and service to the Council during the month of November.

Tonight we have witnessed what I think is a very strange spectacle. But I believe that it is a spectacle which is also very sad. We had before us a draft resolution which I think was widely understood to establish no new economic sanctions. It simply reconfirmed the existing measures in place. Here I want to place on record my support for the interpretation given by the Ambassador of Argentina of the legal effect that the draft resolution would have had.

But this draft resolution did not pass. It failed because one delegation, as best I can understand it, believed that, politically, the time for the adoption of such a draft resolution was not right. We believe that this is strange, and indeed we find it hard to understand how historians will ever understand it at all, how they will ever understand that such an issue, which should be routine, became the subject of a veto.

But, as I have said, I also believe that it is a very sad occasion. It is sad because here was a draft resolution which in a modest way, because of its reference to resolution 943 (1994), did underline that those who cooperate with the Security Council will be rewarded. We do not believe that it was in any way targeted against the authorities in Belgrade. Instead, because of its reference, so explicit, to the Krajina Serbs, it underlined that those who deserve to be sanctioned should be sanctioned.

There was an opportunity here for the Council, in the face of the outrageous violations of international law in recent weeks by the Krajina Serbs, to re-emphasize our existing measures, but, instead, the wish of the majority of this Council has been frustrated. We have no doubt that the consequences of this evening's events will be felt for a long time to come, and we are also sure that no good will come of it.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 9.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3476

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3476th Meeting

Friday, 2 December 1994, 9.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Bakuramutsa	(Rwanda)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Füle
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

94-87336 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 9.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has received with deep concern a report from the Secretariat concerning a statement of 26 November 1994 attributed to the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia. It believes that any unilateral act purporting to establish a sovereign Abkhaz entity would violate the commitments assumed by the Abkhaz side to seek a comprehensive political settlement of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict. The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia.

"The Security Council calls upon all parties, in particular the Abkhaz side, to reach substantive progress in the negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations and with the assistance of the Russian Federation as facilitator and with the participation of representatives of the CSCE aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict, including on the political status of Abkhazia, respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia, based on the principles set out in all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

"The Security Council reaffirms the right of all refugees and displaced persons affected by the conflict to return to their homes in secure conditions in accordance with international law and as set out in the Quadripartite Agreement on voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons signed in Moscow on 4 April 1994. In this regard it expresses great concern at the continued obstruction of the return of refugees and displaced persons and calls upon the Abkhaz party to take all necessary measures, in cooperation with UNHCR, to ensure a speedy and organized voluntary return of the refugees and displaced persons."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/78.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 9.45 p.m.